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ABSTRACT

This unannotated bibliography provides a somewhat complete listing of items published from 1948 to 1970 on the subject of African socialism. Though relevant material from allied subjects has been included, an effort has been made to stay rather closely within the confines of this topic. The bibliography covers Africa as a whole, however it does concentrate on Africa south of the Sahara, particularly East Africa. The document is divided into six parts: Part I contains information about the Research Information Centre of the East African Academy, and notes to the users of the bibliography; Part II contains a summary of the conceptual development, history, and various views on African socialism; Part III comprises the alphabetically arranged bibliography, along with a listing of additional general sources; Part IV presents short biographic sketches of prominent men in African socialism; Part V is the list of serials from which the entries were taken; and, Part VI is a geographically divided list of relevant organizations and their addresses. Non-English titles have been translated into English, though this does not mean that the articles themselves are available in English. Many of the items are articles from international periodicals, and reprints should be easily obtainable. (Author/JLB)

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THE EAST AFRICAN ACADEMY
KENYA • TANZANIA • UGANDA
Research Information Centre

AFRICAN SOCIALISM

A Bibliography

A.H.K. JUMBA-MASAGAZI

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CORRIGENDA

(Thanks to Dr. Mustapha Sall, OAU/IBAH,
Muguga, Kenya)

Pg. 23: AMEILLON, B.
1964 La Guinée: bilan d'une indépendance. (Guinea: the sum-total of independence). Paris

Pg. 23: ARRIGHI, Giovanni
1965 Tradition adaptée au monde moderne: le code de procédure civile au Sénégal. (Adapted traditions in the modern world: the code of civil procedure in Senegal). Penant, 75, 706, 155-169.

Pg. 24: BEAULIEU, P.
1967 El socialismo Africano. (African Socialism). Criterio, Apr.14.

Pg. 24: BEN BARKA, El Mehdi (BIN BARAKAH, al-Mahdi)
1959 Problèmes d'édification du Maroc et du Maghreb. (Problems of building Moroco and the Maghreb): Four interviews with Raymond JEAN. Pp.76. Paris: Librairie Plon.

Pg. 25: BUCHMANN, Jean
1962 L'Afrique noire indépendante. (Independent black Africa). Pp. 434. Paris: Librairie générale de droit et de jurisprudence.

Pg. 26: CHARLES, Bernard
1965 Le socialisme africain: mythes et réalités. (African socialism: myths and realities). Rev.franç.sci.polit., 15.

Pg. 28: DE CLEENE, N.
1963 Négritude et socialisme africain. (Negritude and African socialism). Bull.séances Acad.Roy.Sci.O.-M., 2, 236-245.

Pg. 28: DIA, Mamadou
1957 l'économie africaine: études et problèmes nouveaux. (The African economy: new studies and problems). Pp.119. Paris: Presses Univ. de France.

Pg. 29: DOCUMENTS POUR L'ACTION, DAKAR
1962 Au sommaire: le socialisme africain. (A summary: African socialism). 12, Nov.-Dec.

Pg. 30: DUVIGNAUD, J.
1965 Classes et conscience de classe dans un pays du Maghreb: la Tunisie. (Classes and class consciousness in a Maghreb country: Tunisia). Cah.Internat.Sociol., 38, 185-201.

Pg. 30: FANON, Frantz
1959 L'an V de la révolution Algérienne. (The fifth year of the Algerian revolution). Pp.181. Paris: François Maspero.

Pg. 34: JUNOD, H.-P.
1968 Africanité et dialogue nécessaire entre Africains d'expression française et d'expression anglaise. (Africanity and the necessary dialogue between French-speaking and English-speaking Africans). Genève Afr., 7, 1, 58-69.

Pg. 35: KI-ZERBO, Joseph
1957 Histoire et conscience nègre. (History and negro conscience). Présence Afr., 16, Oct.-Nov., 53-69.

Pg. 38: LY, Abdoulaye
1958 La campagne du Sénégal. (The countryside of Senegal). Pp.310. Paris: Présence Afr.

Pg. 38: MARTON, I.
1966 De la négritude au socialisme africain. (From negritude to African socialisme). Pensée, 130, Dec.

Pg. 40: MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, PARIS
1966 Aprés plusieurs années de réussite, le socialisme guinéen est menacé par des difficultés de tous ordres. (After many years of success, Guinean socialism is menaced by difficulties of all types). Apr.

Pg. 43: PAQUES, Vivian
1966 Unité de la pensée africaine. (Unity of the African thought). Rev.Inst.Sociol., 3, 501-518.

Pg. 43: PAUVERT, Jean-Claude
1955 Le problème des classes sociales en Afrique équatoriale. (The problem of social classes in equatorial Africa). Cah.Internat. Sociol., 19, 76-91.

Pg. 46: SENGHOR, Léopold Sédar
1962 De la négritude: psychologie du négro-Africain. (On negritude: the psychology of the African negro). Diogène, 37, 3-16.

1962c Socialisme africain et développement ou la voie Sénégalaise: Sénégal an II par lui-même, supplément à développement et civilisations. (African socialism and development, or the Senegalese way: Senegal's second year by herself, supplement to Development and Civilisations). Dakar-Martin, Oct.4, 1962, p.2; Dakar-Martin, Jan.8, 1963, p.3.

1964b Théorie et pratique du socialisme sénégalais. (Theory and practice of Senegalese socialism). Dakar.

Pg. 49: TOURE, Sékou
1959 L'action du Parti Démocratique de Guinée et lutte pour l'émancipation africaine. (The action of the Democratic Party of Guinea and the struggle for African emancipation). Pp.10. Paris: Présence Afr.

Pg. 50: VIVANTE AFRICAINE, PARIS
1966 Voies africaines du socialisme. (African ways to socialism). May-June.

Pg. 52: BUCHMANN, J.
1962 ... and WEMBI, A.: Bibliographie sur les structures politiques en Afrique noire indépendante. (A bibliography on the political structure of independent black Africa). Pp.32. Léopoldville (Kinshasa): Univ.Lovanium, INST.RECH.ECON.ET SOCIALES (Notes et Docum., 5/SP 2) - politics.

Pg. 53: FONDATION NATIONALE DES SCIENCES POLITIQUES, PARIS
1949- Bibliographie courante sur fiches d'articles des périodiques. (Current bibliography, on cards, of articles in periodicals). (Formerly: Service de dépouillement de périodiques). Under the direction of Jean MEYRIAT. Three times a week.

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AFRICAN SOCIALISM

A Bibliography and a short Summary

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FOREWORD

The Research Information and Publications Service of the East African Academy is still in its early infancy but it is growing in the Academy's Research Information Centre.

The Research Information Centre was started three years ago in the Olympic House in Nairobi under the sponsorship of the Academy, under the Directorship of Dr.Angela Molnos and with a financial grant from the Ford Foundation. The aim was to collect, organise and make widely available basic bibliographic information in the social sciences with special reference to East Africa. With the full recognition now accorded to the Academy by the East African Community has come the provision of offices in the Nairobi Regional Headquarters of the Community where the Research Information Centre has now moved to become an integral part of the Central Office of the Academy.

The systematic study of books and research publications and the production therefrom of lists of the works of authors and of the literature bearing on particular subjects is a young but growing discipline in the Academy. The number of East Africans trained in the various documentation skills is still small. Yet bibliographies are an essential tool in developing education, administration, professional practice, agriculture, research, and so on, where extensive information is basic to facilitating efficiency.

It is therefore heartening for me in writing this Foreword to say that this Information Circular on 'African Socialism' has been prepared by Mr. Jumba-Masagazi, an East African, who is now the Research Information Officer of the Academy after his initial supervision by Dr.Angela Molnos who has recently left the Academy. This work is a continuation of the three previous Information Circulars which were prepared by Dr.Molnos on the social sciences. Basic and applied social sciences will form the basis for expansion.

On behalf of the East African Academy I would like to take this opportunity to express our indebtedness to the Ford Foundation whose continued financial support has enabled this work to be produced; to the East African Community for providing office space and financial support and to Dr. Angela Molnos who supervised the beginning of this circular and started what is now the bibliographic work of the Academy.

Joseph M. Mungai

PROF. JOSEPH M. MUNGAI
HON. SECRETARY-GENERAL

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PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

I. The East African Academy Research Information Centre and its Information Circular No.4.

The Research Information Centre of the East African Academy was established just a little over two years ago, on a grant from the Ford Foundation, to promote the efficient exchange of information within the field of social sciences and development. Its basic objectives are: to collect, collate and disseminate information on past and current research with special reference to East Africa. In the past two years, emphasis has been on the social sciences. Information is made available to accredited scholars from any country and to interested government ministries and other accredited bodies in the East African Community. To further its aims and objectives, the centre undertakes to work closely and co-operate with institutions in and outside East Africa having similar interests.

Since its first opening on April 1st, 1968, the Centre has by now collected well over 13,000 titles covering the fields of social sciences and works relevant to economic and social development in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda.

Three circulars have already been issued by the Centre:

(1) Sources for the study of East African cultures and development;

(2) Language problems in East Africa: a bibliography (1946-1967) and summary of the present situation with special reference to Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda;

(3) Development in Africa, planning and implementation: a bibliography (1946-1969) and outline with some emphasis on Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda.

This fourth circular attempts to bring together what has been written on African Socialism including a brief reference to the related field of African nationalism. Although covering the whole of Africa, it concentrates more on Africa south of the Sahara particularly East Africa.

The concept of African Socialism has aroused heated debates among African statesmen and scholars of African affairs. We hope that this compilation of what has been said for and against this concept can be considered both timely and useful. Like our second and third circulars, we have included a summary for the sake of the general reader whose interest in African Socialism may be only because of his general interest in African politics.

II. Acknowledgements:

The author is indebted to Dr.Angela Molnos, former Chief Research Information Officer, for supervising much of the compilation of this circular. He is also grateful to Professor Colin Leys of the University of Nairobi, Department of Political Science, Professor Joseph Mungai, Secretary-General of the East African Academy and Dr. R.J.Olembo, editor of the East African Academy, for reading through the document and making valuable comments.

Gratitude must be extended to the staff of the University of Nairobi Library, particularly Mrs.K. Maroo and Mr. R.Omwakwa, for the patience they showed and time they sacrificed to the author on the numerous occasions he visited the library.

It cannot be possible to express gratitude to every one whose co-operation made it possible for this circular to come out. However, it is likewise impossible not to acknowledge the invaluable services of Gina Butler (Mrs). Without her services which she so expertly, patiently and willingly rendered, the venture might have been less successful.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

Acad.	Academy, academies, academic
Aff.	Affair(s)
Afr.	Africa, African(s), Afrique, Africaine(s), Afriki, Afrika
Afr.Stud.Assoc.	Africa(n) Studies Association
Amer.	America, American(s)
A.O.F.	l'Afrique Occidentale Française (French West Africa)
Assoc.	Association(s), associate(s)
Ave.	Avenue(s)
bel.	Belgique
Bibl.	Bibliography, bibliographie(s)
Bull.	Bulletin(s)
Camb.Univ.Press	Cambridge University Press
CARDAN	Centre d'Analysé et de Recherche Documentaires sur l'Afrique Noire
CEDAOM	Centre d'Etudes et de Documentation sur l'Afrique et l'Outre-Mer
CEDESA	Centre de Documentation Economique et Sociale Africaine
CIDESA	Centre Internationale de Documentation Economique et Sociale Africaine
Coll.	College(s)
comp.	compile(d), compiler(s), compilation(s)
Conf.pap.	Conference paper(s)
Dept(s).	Department(s)
Dev.	Development(s)
Doc.	Document(s), documentation
ed(s).	editor(s), edited, edition
EAPH	East African Publishing House
Econ.	Economic(s)
Engl.	English
et al.	et alii (and others)
Govt.	Government(s), governmental
HIWRP	Hoover Institute on War Reconstruction and Peace
IAI	International African Institute
ibid.	ibidem (in the same place)
impr.	impression(s)
Inc.	Incorporated
inf.	information(s)
inst.	institute(s), institut, instituto, institution(s)
internat.	international
mimeo.	mimeograph(ed)
Min.	Ministry, ministries
MISR	Makerere Institute of Social Research
n.d.	not dated
n.p.	not published, not paginated.
occ.bibl.	occasional bibliography, occasional bibliographies
occ.pap.	occasional paper(s)
ODI	Overseas Development Institute Ltd.
op.cit.	opere citato (in the work quoted)
OUP	Oxford University Press
PDG	Parti Democratique de Guinée
PEAS	Program for Eastern Africa Studies, Syracuse University.

pol.sci.	Political Science
polit.	politics, political
Présence Afr.	Editions Présence Africaines (Publishing House in Paris)
pseud.	pseudonym(ous)
publ.	publication(s), publish(ed), publisher(s)
rech.	recherche(s)
rel.	relation(s)
Rep.	Republic(an)
repr.	reprint(ed)
rev.	review(ed), revise(d)
Roy.	Royal
Sci.	Science, scientific
SCOLMA	Standing Conference for Library Material on Africa
ser.	series, séries, serial(s)
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies, London University
soc.	social
sociol.	sociology, sociological
Str.	Street
stud.	study, studies
suppl.	supplement(s), supplementary
T.	Tome (Volume)
tr.	translate(d), translation(s), translator(s)
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
Univ.	University
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USJPRS	United States Joint Publications Research Service
USSC	University Social Science Council
vol(s).	volume(s)

NOTES TO THE USERS

1. Sources

(a) Summary:

The summary has been prepared from about 35% of the entire compilation. An attempt has been made to get a diversified view of the topic by going through works of people with different backgrounds. Thus the works of President Julius Nyerere with an English - Catholic background; President Leopold Senghor with a French - Catholic Marxist background and President Sekou Toure with a French - Moslem Marxist background have been looked at very carefully. Although of different enviromental backgrounds, African socialists have at least one thing in common: their devotion to African values. The compiler would like to point out that some of the original works, particularly those of the French speaking scholars, could not be obtained. In such cases, quotations have been made from such secondary sources as were considered satisfactory and reliable. The appendices in Friedland and Rosberg's "African Socialism" are examples of such sources.

(b) Bibliography:

The following sources, among others, have been used in compiling the titles:

A Current Bibliography on African Affairs: vols.1-2, and vol.3, nos.2 and 3, Greenwood Periodicals, N.Y.
African Abstracts: quarterly review of articles appearing in current periodicals, IAI, vols.17-20
Occasional Bibliography: 2,3,4,8,11 and 31. Bibliographies of PEAS, Syracuse Univ.
The Journal of Modern African Studies: a quarterly survey of politics, economics and related topics in contemporary Africa, Camb.Univ.Press, vols. 1-7
Africa Report: vol.8, (May), 1963
Africa: Journal of IAI, vols.36-39
U.K.Publications and Theses on Africa: in the period 1963-65 (SCOLMA)
Bibliography of African bibliographies south of the Sahara: South African Library, Cape Town.
African Studies Bulletin, (U.K.): vol.11, no.1.
Rural Africana: current research in social sciences nos.1 and 2, 1967, African Studies Center, Michigan State Univ.
Bibliography of Kenya: PEAS, Syracuse Univ.
Tanzania notes and Records: Journal of Tanzania Society, nos.65-68
The Uganda Journal: the journal of the Uganda Society, vols. 31-32
Le mois en Afrique: Revue française d'etudes politiques africaines, nos.30-31, (June-July, 1968).
A list of American doctoral dissertations on Africa: Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
U.S.and Canadian Publications on Africa: Hoover Institution, bibliographical series, 1961-1965.
Africa south of the Sahara: a selected annotated list of writings.
African Forum: vol.1.

Report on Research 1967-1968: Univ.College, Dar es Salaam.
CEDESA, CIDESA, Scandinavian Inst.of African Studies and other publications.

It must be emphasized that many other sources were consulted and it would not be possible to list all of them here. Many of them were read through for cross-checking.

2. Topics covered:

An attempt has been made to refrain from dealing with the whole field of African politics. However, where a piece of work is closely related to the topic, it has been included. A topic like African socialism can easily lead one to include work on such topics as colonialism, pan-Africanism etc. This has been avoided as far as possible, but in such a manner that relevant material from those related fields has not been omitted.

3. Area covered:

It was considered more meaningful to cover the whole continent rather than East Africa alone, because the concept of African Socialism has spread over the continent almost at the same time and the contributors to this concept are widely scattered throughout distant parts of the continent. Isolating East Africa from the rest of the continent would only serve to deprive the reader of the useful contributions from writers outside the region. Furthermore, the concept purports to deal with the common concern of the whole continent: economic and social development.

4. Period covered:

The period covered is a little over two decades. The entries range from about 1948 to 1970.

5. Completeness:

With a new concept like this one, it is very difficult to ascertain how complete the work is. It is estimated that this compilation is at least 85% complete.

6. Accuracy:

A great deal of care has been taken to ensure accuracy of the titles listed. Where possible, the titles were checked from a multiple of sources. In certain cases where bibliographic data was not sufficient to be of benefit to the user, the entry was left out. Those entries which do not have all the bibliographic data were only included because the compiler was convinced that the data included was enough for the user to retrieve the document(s) concerned.

7. How to obtain works listed:

Most of the works listed consists of articles from periodicals, most of these are international. It should be possible, therefore, for the user to trace them so as to get reprints. We have provided where possible the addresses of the periodicals in which the documents have appeared.

8. Further sources of information:

The second section of part three contains a list for further sources. These are either bibliographies or information on African politics in general. Furthermore, this list contains periodicals which normally carry material on African Socialism or socialism in Africa.

9. Technical set-up of bibliography:

The set up of the bibliography section closely follows our previous circulars. Even to the new users the system is to a great extent self-explanatory. However, there are some technical details that need elaborating for the benefit of the new users:

(a) Works are listed alphabetically according to authors, compilers, editors or sponsoring institutions. If the articles are anonymous, they are listed either under the name of the publishing institution or the periodical in which they appear;

(b) There is a separate list of periodicals: the first section of part five. However, there are some periodicals with identical titles. In such cases, the place of origin of the less internationally known periodical is put in brackets. If, for example, there are two or more periodicals with the title "Africa" and they are published independently in London, Moscow and Geneva respectively, if the one in London is the most commonly known, then whenever an article is listed from it, nothing follows its title. However, if an article is listed from any of the other two "Africas", then either Moscow or Geneva will follow in brackets; e.g.:

ABOLD, M.N.
1947 What is African socialism? Africa (Moscow), 3, 2, 3-5.

(c) Non-English titles have been translated into English. This does not necessarily mean that the work can be obtained in English.

(d) In listing periodicals, an attempt has been made to list them in the following manner: Volume number (this is underlined), issue number and the pagination of the article. Where a figure, therefore, is shown and it is not underlined, it is an issue number and not a volume number. For example, 2, 3, 21-30 means vol.2, number 3, from page 21 to page 30 inclusive; 36, 20 means number 36, page 20.

Sometimes it is not possible to get the issue or volume number; in many cases the month (July or Jun.etc.) or period (winter etc.) has been indicated as this may serve the same purpose as the issue or volume number.

Dates: 1960 means that the work was published in 1960.

1960- for a periodical, means that starting with 1960, successive issues have been published.

1960^2 means that the 2nd edition appearing in 1960.

PART TWO

SUMMARY

I. THE CONCEPT OF AFRICAN SOCIALISM

The phrase 'African Socialism' is barely two decades old although the concept of African socialism is much older. African socialism is a doctrine believed to be an extension of African nationalism, nationalism of the post-independence era. After independence, there were no effective terminologies or ideologies with which the continent as a whole could effectively identify itself. Most of the -isms were not compromising enough for the purpose. Neo-colonialism was very abstract, pan-Africanism was very utopian while negritude or African personality, very philosophical. When 'African Socialism' was coined, it looked as if it could combine the terms neo-colonialism, pan-Africanism, negritude or African personality all in one. What made the concept more successful than its predecessors was the fact that it was readily identified with the entire continent's urgent and immediate pre-occupation, that of economic development. Actually those who advocate African socialism view it as the best and perhaps only way of Africa's attainment of economic independence; and since this is the paramount continental dilemma, African socialism comes very near to an African continental identity. It is also possible that African socialism is a result of a rejection by the former subjugated colonies of all things emanating from metropolitan and other foreign powers.

A clear-cut definition of African socialism is lacking; nor can we expect to find it. This is primarily because of two reasons. Fairly young, the concept has not had sufficient time to crystallize and therefore its definition would be pre-mature at this stage. Secondly, and perhaps more important, is the fact that at the present stage, African socialism is a doctrine that does not resemble the 19th century European orthodox socialism where there were Marxists, anarchists or guild socialists. African socialism is not a brainchild of any one individual or group of individuals. There is not yet a Karl Marx and no Engels in African socialism. There is not yet a unified theory and therefore there is not yet a "Das Kapital". Only time will tell whether in future years there will be Nyerereites, Nkrumahites or Senghorites. After all, Karl Marx was not really known outside his native land of Germany until some years after his death.

African statesmen are not only engaged in theorising doctrines. They are, at one and the same time engaged in implementing these very doctrines. They are in a "trial-and-error" period whereby they try to implement the doctrine that is most expedient for their people. They are theorising and implementing; and to them the latter is more pressing. You can see they have no time to wait for a philosophy to crystallize. The world we live in today is too demanding, too impatient and unforgivingly critical. They have to march on. One would imagine that given the opportunity, that is, if circumstances could permit, Nyerere or Senghor or Obote or Diop would like to sit down and do nothing but concetrate on theorising different doctrines on this socialism; but unlike Marx, Fourrier, Saint Simon or even Owen and many other early European socialists, African socialists spend most of their time leading their countries and only some of the time theorising doctrines about a particular philosophy.

For the purpose of this introduction to the summary, African socialists are divided into two groups or worlds:

(a) The French-speaking world:
Mamamadou Dia, Cheikh Anta Diop, Rene Dumont, Frantz Fanon, Madeira Keita, Modibo Keita, Leopold Sedar Senghor and Sekou Toure.

(b) The English-speaking world:
W.E.B. BuBois, Tom Mboya, Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere and George Padmore.

NOTE:

(i) The people listed above are not all Africans. The non-Africans have been included because of their contributions to the intellectual arguments on the concept during its early stages.

(ii) One reason why it has been found necessary to list these early African socialists in two groups rather than listing them "en masse", is their fundamental difference in the approach to the concept. The French group is more philosophical than the English group while the latter is more practical. But this is only a personal opinion of the author.

II. BACKGROUND

This section is not duplicating the section on the biographic notes (Part four), its purpose is just to give a background of African politics in which African socialism has grown and after its growth, the different trends it has taken, directed by different leaders.

1. The Concept of Democracy

Traditionally, socialism has been associated with the concept of democracy. In Africa, most of the exponents of African socialism have defended it on the grounds of preserving the democratic institutions that existed in Africa. However, the African leaders have, according to Charles F.Andrain, formulated "three somehow different ideological interpretations of a democratic society. Sekou Toure, Kwame Nkrumah and Julius Nyerere express a monistic interpretation. A second theory, best stated by Nigerian leaders, is based on pluralistic model, in which larger institutionalized groups compete for influence. A third model, a variant of pluralistic interpretation, expresses the individualistic revolt against racial groupism in East, Central and South Africa". ('Democracy and Socialism' In: Ideology and Discontent, ed.by David E.Apter, p.157).

In the monistic concept of democracy, the values of popular sovereignty as well as political equality are paramount. In otherwords, the social structure maxmizes equality. The formality of votes is subordinated to the concept based on consensus, and thus unanimous decisions are not only welcomed, they are expected.

"The leaders attempts (sic) to minimize conflict and 'deviant' behavior; they postulate an identical group goal, which all members should persue" (C.J. Andrain, op.cit., p.158). President Sekou Toure of Guinea exemplifies this concept; also Kwame Nkrumah, former president of Ghana echoed this concept after Ghana became a republic. In East Africa, it is mainly symbolized by President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania.

The pluralistic model contrasts the monistic model in that unlike the latter, the former regards democracy "as a framework within which institutionalized groups compete for powers" (C.J.Andrain, op.cit., p.166). In recognition of the fact that different people and groups have different interests, the pluralists aim at preventing the accumulation of power in one group.

Finally, the individualistic model is common in multiracial states such as Kenya and South Africa. There the leaders, that is the African leaders, reject the group concept of democracy and instead, they stress the rights of the individual. To the individualists, racial exclusiveness is rejected "preferring to evoke the right of each individual to participate in political life. For them, individual merit rather than race must be the determining factor of the right to share in sociopolitical benefits". (C.J.Andrain, op.cit., p.170).

2. The Concept of Socialism:

It is said that Africans seek a brand of socialism that fits the realities of African political, social and economic circumstances. That is why neither bourgeois capitalism nor proleterian communism is appropriate for Africa. It is furthermore claimed that the dominant feature of African socialism is typified by their desire to raise the living standards of the farmers. "African leaders deny the relevance to the African situation of the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proleteriate. For them the real struggle lies between the exploiting colonialists and the exploited Africans". (C.J.Andrain, op.cit.,p.172).

Most African socialists seek to invest human capital to modernize society. Perhaps this is best brought out by the self-help projects most prevailing in Guinea, Tanzania, Kenya and to a good extent Uganda. But like in democracy, African socialists with all their agreement as to the need of a humanistic socialism adopted to African realities, they differ in their interpretations of socialism itself. The most clear cut types of African socialism are: African Marxism, socialist humanism and the socialist-welfare state.

African marxism is characterized by political control of the economy and a high degree of public ownership. Perhaps of all the African leaders, President Sekou Toure has been most closely identified with this system. This is most probably because he has also been one most influenced by "Marxian socialism and Leninist principles of organization". (C.J.Andrain, op.cit., p.173). But Toure is not a carbon copy of either Marx or Lenin.

In Marx, what influenced Toure most were (a) the thought and action of a party to be united; (b) the Marxian humanism of focusing on man; (c) the holding of social values over economic considerations; (d) Toure thinks that the dialectical movement will result in spiraling progress and finally (e) although their interpretations defer, both Toure and Marx share the notion of contradictions and to both men these "contradictions convey moral indictiment of the economic status quo". (C.J.Andrain, op.cit., p.174). The difference between these two men as far as the last concept is concerned is that Toure does not stress these contradictions as much as Marx. Furthermore, Toure comes back to the Africanism of his concept and concentrates on the general political interest and does not capitalize on class or economic interest. Here he denies the relevance of class struggle in Africa.

Actually in "his attempt to articulate an ideology appropriate to the African milieu, Sekou Toure attempts to blend Marxism with the 'communaucratic' values of precolonial African society". (C.J.Andrain, op.cit., p.175).

In this same school of African Marxism, is Kwame Nkrumah (when he was overthrown in Ghana in 1966, he took refuge in Guinea and President Sekou Toure made him co-president of the Republic of Guinea). Like Toure, Nkrumah has been greatly influenced by Marx. But unlike Toure, he has been less articulate and "has failed to elaborate a systematic African Marxist theory; the influence of Marx on Nkrumah remains largely at the level of slogans". (C.J.Andrain, op.cit., p.176). Like Toure, Nkrumah wanted to achieve Marxian doctrines through the organizational teachings of Lenin he gained as a student in London and depicted in his 1947 pamphlet entitled "Towards Colonial Freedom: Africa in the Struggle Against World Imperialism". But, unlike Toure, he does not start out with an outright and adamant insistance on a one party political system in the country. I think this development to a truly African Marxian line is best gauged by the tone of his writings; starting with his "Ghana: the autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah" published in 1957, to "Neo-colonialism: the last stages of imperialism". One would say that Nkrumah had progressed from a middle of the road man (almost leaning to the right or West) when he visited America just after Ghana's independence, to an unmistakable scientific socialist just before his overthrow in 1966.

3. Socialist Humanism:

It has already been stated that humanist ideals characterize all African socialists. This includes both Nkrumah and Toure. The reason why Nkrumah and Toure are not considered deciples of socialist humanism is that "they tend to subordinate these spiritual values to the demands of political mobilization". (C.J.Andrain, op.cit., p.177).

Andrain thinks that socialist humanism is best exemplified by President Leopold Senghor and his former Prime Minister Mamadou Dia (both of Senegal). These two "have elaborated a model of socialism that integrates the humanistic values of traditional African society and pre-1848 Marxism" (ibid.). The communitarian ethical-spiritual values of African life, and the humanistic appeals of Karl Marx, are married together. Like most of the other Africans, these two leaders focus on the group, this contrasts them from Europeans who focus on the individual. When Senghor writes, he is concerned with human nature (way back in 1948 he wrote "Condition humaine").

Both Senghor and Dia are of the opinion that "African communalism rejects communistic violence and prefers to reconcile differences through mutual consultation and co-operation. Rather than following the examples of either communism or capitalism, both of which curtail freedom of thought and art, African socialists must encourage the expression of a socialist humanism sensitive to original African conditions, a humanism safeguarding human spontaneity and traditional cultural values". (C.J.Andrain op.cit., p.181).

4. The Social-Welfare State:

More pragmatic than either African Marxism or Socialist Humanism is the social-welfare-state type of African socialism. With this, very little attempt is made to formulate any specific and systematic socialist philosophy of the nature of Senghor, Toure or Dia. To the Social Welfare Statists, socialism is a general, vague aspiration which embody goals such as social justice, equality of distribution of wealth, equal opportunity and satisfaction of basic human needs. President Obote's "Common Man's Charter" is a good example of this type of socialism.

This seems to have been the trend in most of the English speaking Africa. The immediate examples of its exponents can be found in both Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria and President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania. In this social-welfare state, the "businessman has greater opportunity to persue strictly economic ends free of political control". (ibid.). It is possible, however, that Nyerere has been moving away from this trend since his nationalization of banks and big business in 1967. Kenya's economic policy accommodates more of the qualities of the social-welfare state type of socialism.

III. VIEWS OF AFRICAN SOCIALISM

Different African leaders, as would be expected, view African Socialism differently. There are those who reject the concept while there are some who neither accept nor reject it openly. On the other hand, there are those who expound and practice it while others expound but do not practice it.

For this summary the emphasis is laid mainly on the theory rather than the practice of African socialism. That is to say, the reasons why some leaders as well as academicians oppose and why some support the concept of African socialism. As a matter of fact, those are the two major schools of thought about this concept. There are people who question the validity of the concept and there are some who adhere to it. The former think that what is called African socialism is nothing more than socialism imported from Europe while the latter contend that African socialism is rooted in African traditions.

An attempt is made here to give a summary of each school of thought by mainly quoting from and commenting on some outstanding contributions to the arguements.

1. African Socialism: An Expression of Community Mindedness.

a). Introduction

Some scholars believe that the concept of African socialism is indeed African in origin. That is why it is said in the Kenya Government Sessional Paper No.10 that:

> In the phrase 'African Socialism' the word 'African' is not used to describe a continent to which a foreign ideology is to be transplanted. It is meant to convey the African roots of a system that is itself African in its characteristics. African Socialism is a term describing an African political and economic system that is positively African not being

> imported from any country or being a blueprint of any foreign ideology but being capable of incorporating useful and compatible techniques from whatever source.

In his book "Consciencism", Kwame Nkrumah says "The traditional face of Africa includes an attitude towards man which can only be described, in the social manifestation, as being socialist. This arises from the fact that man is regarded in Africa as primarily a spiritual being, a being endowed originally with a certain inward dignity, integrity and value". (Kwame Nkrumah, "Consciencism", London: Heinmann. p.68).

Yambo calls this concept a real African ideology and not merely a great dream as some of its opponents have labeled it. (Marx and the Strangeness of African socialism). Presence Africaine, Vol.22, no.50, p.21).

The fundamental objective of any type of socialism is the attainment of a just and egalitarian society where there is no exploitation of man by his fellow man. It is an objective "not merely fighting for higher wages or waging war against the many social ills such as corruption, racialism, exploitation of man by man, tyranny and so on, important though this is, Socialism has a positive side which holds up the vision of a just, co-operative and classless society". (B.A.Ogot, "Deviationism is inherent". E.Afr.J., Apr.,1964, p.2).

With those objectives in mind, the advocates of African socialism contend that the traditional African society has always contained indigenous socialism and has had qualities that make that indigenous socialism uniquely African.

b) Indigenous African Socialism in the African Society.

ba) Means of Production.

The greatest means of production in the African society has always been the land. On this land all African wealth was based. The African grazed his cattle, he grew food, he built on the land. African socialists say that in most traditional African societies there was no ownership of land by individuals on a private basis. In otherwords, land was communally owned. Whatever land ownership exists in Africa is an imported pattern. Mwalimu Julius Nyerere of Tanzania says that Africans must reject the capitalist methods that go with colonialism that was brought to Africa:

> One of these (methods) is the individual ownership of land. To us in Africa, land was always recognized as belonging to the community. Each individual within our society had a right to the use of land, because otherwise he could not earn his living, and one cannot have the right to life without also having right to some means of maintaining life. But the African's right to land was simply the right to use it; he had no other right to it, nor did it occur to him to try and claim one.
>
> (Appendix II in African Socialism. eds.: W.H.Friedland and C.G. Rosberg,Jr., p.242).

The Kenya government's view on this issue is simply expressed. It is that "the ultimate right of disposal (of land) outside the tribe was essentially tribal and in this land was tribally owned". (African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya. p.10). Essentially the Kenya government is reiterating an historial facet.

Tom Mboya says "In Africa the belief that 'we are all sons and daughters of the soil' has exercised tremendous influence on our social, economic and political relationships... Also arising from the same belief is the practice of communal ownership of the vital means of life - the land". (Appendix IV in Friedland and Rosberg, op.cit., p.253).

bb) The Egalitarian Character of the African society

Socialism in Europe arose as a reaction to social injustice, i.e. exploitation of one socio-economic class by another. Although this reaction occured only as a consequence of the industrial revolution the underlying social stratification is as old as European history itself. The traditional African society is marked with it low degree of stratification. Generally, there were no distinct classes. After all, the African society was based on an extended family system which, in turn, expanded into kinship groups which further extended into clan systems.

Nkrumah says that the:

> idea of the original value of man imposes duties of a socialist kind upon us. Herein lies the theoretical basis of African communalism. The theoretical basis expressed itself on the social level in terms of institutions such as the clan, underlining the initial equality of all and the responsibility of many for one. In this social situation, it was impossible for classes of a Marxian kind to arise. By a Marxian kind of class, I mean one which has a place in a horizontal social stratification. Here classes are related in such a way that there is a disproportion of economic and political power between them. In such a society there exists classes which are crushed, lacerated and ground down by the encumbrence of exploitation. In this sense, there were no classes in traditional African society. (Nkrumah op.cit., p.69).

Goran Hyden endorses the classlessness of traditional African societies when he says that it "might be true that a number of African traditional tribal societies had no division of social classes in the Marxist sense (based on control over means of production)...". (The failure of Africa's first intellectuals", Transition 28, 1967, p.15). William H.Friedland put the question of the classless society this way:

> The third theme prevelent in African socialist thinking is an antogonism to a class society. Social class is regarded with repugnance by many African leaders, who see this as a European import. Ideally, society in the precontact traditional period is seen as having been unstratified. As Leopold Senghor has expressed it: 'There are no classes in our society'. Similary Houphouet- Boigny gave as one reason for breaking with the communist, the fact that 'the class struggle, which lies at the base of communism, has no meaning in a classless society.
>
> (Friedland and Rosberg, op.cit., pp.21-22).

The sharp class divisions that once existed in Europe have no place in African Socialism and no parallel in African society. "No class problem arose in the traditional African society and none exists today among Africans. The class problem in Africa, therefore, is largely one of prevention...". (African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya. op.cit., p.12).

bc) Communal Social Responsibility:

African socialists contend that the traditional African society was characterized by communal social responsibility by the very virtue of the fact that the concept of society was "Ujamaa" or Familyhood as Nyerere puts it.

He explains the concept when he says that:

> in traditional African society everybody was a worker, I do not use the word 'worker' simply as opposed to 'employer' but also as opposed to 'loiterer' or 'idler'. One of the most socialistic achievements of our society was the sense of security it gave to its members, and the hospitality on which they could rely. But it is too often forgotten, nowadays, that the basis of this great socialistic achievement was this: that it was taken for granted that every member of the society - barring only the children and the infirm - contributed his fair share of effort towards the production of its wealth. Not only was the capitalist, or the landed exploiter, unknown to traditional African society, but we did not have that other form of modern parasite - the loiterer, or idler, who accepts hospitality of society as his 'right' but gives nothing in return! Capitalistic exploitation was impossible. Loitering was an unthinkable disgrace. Those of us who talk about the African way of life... might do well to remember the Swahili saying: 'Mgeni siku mbili; siku ya tatu mpe jembe' - or in English, 'Treat your guest as a guest for two days; on the third day give him a hoe! In actual fact, the guest was likely to ask for the hoe even before his host had to give him one - for he knew what was expected of him, and would have been ashamed to remain idle any longer. Thus, working was part and parcel, was indeed the very justification of this socialistic achievement of which we are so justly proud.
>
> (Nyerere, Ujamaa - The Basis of African Socialism, p.5).

Here it must be pointed out that in the traditional society, even children (of what is now school age), contributed their fair share to society. At as early an age as five, children were expected to stay home and keep watch for either visitors coming home or strange intruders. In the case of the latter, the children were expected to raise an alarm failure of which would cause the child or children concerned to be rebuked by the elders. From the age of six, children in most African societies were expected to fetch water; and from then on, they were expected to work with their parents (in a sort of training form), or could even be entrusted with the grazing of cattle, goats or any other domestic animals that might need looking after. Children who neglected their duties in any way, were rebuked and those who did not want to work, were not only rebuked by their parents and other elders in general, they were despised by their agemates. They were idlers and had, therefore, no place in society. Today, many children go to school; those who have the opportunity of going to school and do not use it are looked down upon just as much as those children who did not want to work; because they are really idlers.

> Mutual social responsibility is an extension of the African family spirit to the nation as a whole, with the hope that ultimately the same spirit can be extended to cover larger areas. It implies a mutual responsibility by society and its members to do their best for each other with the full knowledge and understanding that if society prospers its members will share in that prosperity and that society cannot prosper without the full co-operation of its members".
>
> (African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya. op.cit., p.4).

c) Traditional values subsumed in Modern African Theory.

African socialism is an independent ideology, Senghor refers to it as the sum total of Africa's proud past which is re-discovered in the concept of negritude.

> Senghor's reflections on that subject (of African socialism) are based on his emotional and intellectual commitment to African values and realities, and on thorough investigation on western and communist thinkers. The result is an amalgam aimed at serving Africa.
>
> Senghor's doctrine is both a method and a myth. As a method it provides instruments with which to assert and develop the material and ideal values of Africa; these instruments include negritude, eclecticism in nation building... and the socialization of some means of production and consumption.
>
> These were the considerations which lay at the root of the concept of negritude, defined by Senghor as 'the totality of civilization values - cultural, social and political - which characterizes the black peoples'. This definition suggests that in its wider sense, Senghor tends to equate negritude with the accumulated and diverse patrimony of traditional Africa.
>
> (Walter A.E.Skurnik, "Leopold Sedar Senghor and African Socialism", in J.Mod.Afr.Stud., Vol.3, no.3, pp.349-351).

Unlike orthodox Marxists, African socialists do not condemn religion. Senghor states that "...our socialism is not like that of Europe. It is neither atheistic communism nor, quite, the democratic socialism of the second international". (Appendix VI, Friedland and Rosberg, op.cit., p.264).

The Kenya government recognizes the importance of religion and says "Another fundamental force in African traditional life was religion which provided a strict moral code for the community. This will be a prominent feature of African socialism". (African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya, op.cit., p.4).

But it is Mamadou Dia who spells out African socialism's intention to be religious when he says:

> In these communities in which our freedom in comformity with the African genius, acquires strength and value through discussion and debate, we aim at developing a

> new type of man, inspired by an awareness of the world and also by a sense of the spiritual values of the forces of life whose rhythm forms our aesthetic valuation. Is this not a stirring promise of a new humanism, faithful both to Africa and to man's calling and hence the meaning of the universe? This spiritual humanism will be in harmony with the Christian as well as the Moslem way of life, for we are in a profound sense a people of believers Our vision of the world implies the view that all believers, faced with this genuine choice, are especially called upon to argue in a fraternal spirit, in order to give the support of spiritual values to our African Socialism which is not a scholastic theory but a vital challenge and hence also an ethic and an obligation.
>
> (Appendix III, Friedland and Rosberg, op.cit., p.249).

Senghor and Dia are not isolated cases of religious African socialists. Julius Nyerere is a devout Catholic while Modibo Keita, Cheikh Anta Diop and Sekou Toure are dedicated Moslems.

African socialists then say that the background of African socialism is totally different from that of European socialism. European socialism was born of the industrial and agrarian revolutions but African socialism will only help to enhance them; European socialism was born in nations already created while part of African socialism's duty is to create nations in the modern sense. European socialism sought to adjust already developed economies while African socialism seeks to develop African economies.

2. African Socialism: Imported European Socialism

On the other hand there are those scholars who maintain that what is called African socialism is nothing more than imported European socialism with nothing uniquely African about this doctrine. It is said that what African socialists call an African society and African traditions should not be confined to Africa alone. "These are traditions found in any peasant society or community". (Kaleidoscope in Daily Nation, Nairobi, Dec.6, 1968).

The ends of all socialists are similar. That is the contention of Prof. Bethwell A.Ogot. Therefore,

> It is evident,... that as far as the ends of socialism are concerned, it is meaningless to talk of African socialism, for the goal is the same for all socialists of all ages and chimes, viz., the establishment of a just and egalitarian society in which the slogan,'to each according to his greed' has no place. That is why, when President Julius Nyerere states in his booklet UJAMAA that "The foundation, and the objective, of African Socialism is the Extended Family", and contrasts this with socialism based on the class struggle, it is clear that he is confusing ends and means. The extended family may be a foundation of socialism, but it cannot be the ultimate objective of socialism. On the other hand, when Tom Mboya in Chapter Eight of his book FREEDOM AND AFTER claims that the attitudes that are reflected in the negative and positive objectives of socialism are exclusively African, he is ignoring the point...

> that these attitudes are common to all socialists.
>
> (Deviationism is Inherent, E.Afr.J., Apr.1964, 2-3).

In defence of the internationalism of socialism, Prof.I.I.Potekhin has said that "African Socialism, like any other type of 'national socialism' must be rejected, because those advocate it (sic) forget that Africa, like the rest of the world, is subject to the fixed laws of historical development". (Ogot, op.cit., p.4).

> It might be true that a number of African traditional societies had no division of social classes in the Marxist sense (based on control of means of production), but the colonial period and post-independence period in particular, have seen major changes in both the economic and social structure of African societies. At least in some new African states the gap between the rich and the poor has become visible and therefore tended to create political division. The assumption about a classless society has been increasingly defied.
>
> The second question is whether only conflicts of a class character are fundamental and therefore a potential threat to the stability of a particular society. Even if we suppose a society to be classless, are there no other factors which drive individuals to act contrary to each other? One might refer to the social identity in African societies after independence, where it has proved difficult either to form or maintain a level of national conciousness. ...Firstly, it means that the societies upon which African nationalists must build are traditional and classless, that developments during this century have little affected the social system. ... Secondly, it is implied that human beings are guided only by noble ideas, that social action can always be channeled for the purpose of advancing the whole community, not parts of it as, for instance, with the capitalist system. It does not seem from empirical evidence available that individuals either by free will or by force act according to the assumptions made. Although the theory about the classless African society is not basically wrong it is hardly an exaggeration to say that it has been of only little relevance in post-independence Africa.
>
> (Goran Hyden,"The failure of Africa's first intellectuals", Transition 28, 1967, p.15).

So the classlessness of the African society is not denied by the opponents of the concept of African socialism. However, they explain that classlessness was only real during the pre-colonial society. The colonial era created class conciousness which most of the post-independence states of Africa inherited. Furthermore, with more and more Africans getting educated while the larger part of the continent's population still remains illiterate, there is bound to develop an African educated elite. These will form a class of their own however unintentionally. People doing different types of jobs according to different professional training will form themselves into their professional cliques, which will be classes of a sort. African socialism has not shown how this can be prevented from happening.

John Kakonge thinks that African socialism is based on outmoded myths which do not apply anymore to the modern African society. He argues that:

> Those who think of African socialism as a social political philosophy based on African social system assert that African society in the past, before the coming of the colonialists, was socialised. The colonialists destroyed this socialist society and therefore the task now is to restore it. This is in effect a call for us to return to the past and reject all mankind's achievements.
>
> No nation can progress on the basis of nostalgia for the past. The concept of African socialism may be a commendable attempt to explain some aspects of African anthropology in terms of modern social scientific jargon. But it is far from being a modern method of dealing with the economic problems.
>
> It is simply impossible to create conditions of traditional African socialist society.
>
> Although African society might have been socialist in the past, as a result of many centuries of private production on the common land, property innequalities have developed.
>
> It has been claimed that in Africa there have not arisen in an acute form the economically and socially stratified societies of the West and that therefore theories of class warfare appropriate to other historical and geographical circumstances, have no relevance to the African situation. It is claimed that African socialism is opposed to capitalism, which seek to build society on the basis of exploitation of man by man; and it is equally opposed to doctrinaire socialism which seeks to build society on the innevitable conflict between man and man. In this connection it is maintained that modern African society is a classless society, scientific socialism is not fit for African reality. "We shall build our own socialism, African Socialism", is what one hears.
>
> Now, however, with independence new opportunities to develop strata of black capitalists are emerging. It is commonplace that in an underdeveloped but rapidly expanding country, there is great inequality of income and wealth. This is because education is still largely the monopoly of a priviledged few, and people have initiative, enterprise and specialist skills are scarce and in great demand. Inevitably they receive substantial rewards for their work. This certainly applies to present-day Africa in that the educated and the successful have an enormously higher standard of living than the farm and factory labourer, the mine worker and the peasant farmer. Thus it is totally erroneous to call modern Africa a classless society.
>
> (Scientific Socialism in Africa, in E.Afr.J., Apr.1964, 6-7).

IV. SUMMARY (OF THE SUMMARY)

African socialism, like any other ideology, can succeed or fail depending on the people who manipulate and implement it. It will also depend on the circumstances of a particular environment. One of the many useful contributions Nyerere has made to this ideology has been the emphatic expression that African socialism, like any other philosophical concept, is a state of mind. It will only succeed if the people concerned believe in it. If they do not and if they want, they can make all sorts of interpretations and make all sorts of loop--holes in laying down the principles of the philosophy. The two arguments between Ahmed Mohiddin (Socialism or Capitalism? Sessional Paper No.10 Revisited, in East African Journal, March 1969, pp.7-16) and Tom Mboya (Sessional Paper No. 10: It is African and It is Socialism, in ibid., May 1969. pp.15-22) is a good example of the difference in the interpretation of a concept.

African socialists claim that the concept is basically founded on the all--important African tradition of the extended family and the kinship grouping. To them that is the basis of the communality or familyhood (Ujamaa) of the African society. To them it is a society devoid of the individuality of western societies and instead, a society full of humanism. The opponents of the concept say that such kinship groupings exist in all peasant societies and therefore that is not good enough a reason to have an African socialism but a socialism in Africa.

Surveying the different socialist histories, Prof. Ogot forms the opinion that the "difference between African, European and eastern brands of socialism are... likely to be practical, not theoretical". But the same person endorses the validity of African socialism when he says that:

> It is evident that deviationism is inherent in socialism, and we cannot therefore use it as a basis for condemning those Africans who are trying to give meaning and content to the phrase, Democratic African Socialsim. We want to know whether scientific socialism as propounded by Marx is in line with African reality.
>
> (Deviationism is Inherent, E.Afr.J., Apr.1964, 3-5).

We have seen differences between African leaders and other Africanists on this concept of African socialism. However, as William H.Friedland says:

> Even though there are differences between the socialists and the non-socialists on the one hand, and between the different socialists on the other, it is important to note that there are significant similarities. President Tubman of Liberia may shun the word 'socialist', but the fact is that Liberian economic development is similar to that of Guinea, an avowedly socialist country.
>
> This does not mean that as Africans add content to the dimensions of African Socialism they are engaged in some sort of ideological deception. African socialism must be seen in its proper context as an attempt to find an ideology that will satisfy the often divergent needs of the times. In this respect, a great deal of experimentation is taking place as the new nations of Africa pass through different stages of

> development and as ideology is shaped to meet different situational demands. At first the ideology tends to be a highly flexible, amorphous set of ideas that fails to meet the criteria of sophisticated thinking, but in time it will probably crystallize as consensus is reached upon a general direction and the theoreticians have time to systematize its tenets. The many tendencies that exist today in African socialism make it appear as a pot-pourri of ideas having little coherence. However, it must be seen in the light of an ideology struggling to meet a vast and formidable range of problems. In time, as some tendencies prove more formidable than others, their acceptence, and the discarding of the non-successful, will give the ideology a clearer direction.
>
> (Friedland and Rosberg, op.cit., pp.2-3).

Its Advocates point out that African socialism is basically a philosophy. They say that critics of this philosophy fail to realise that like any other philosophy, African socialism cannot be perfected in one generation alone. Professor Joseph M.Mungai, professor of Human Anatomy and Dean of the Medical School at the University of Nairobi, has argued in support of the professional associations. He says that they are not only inevitable, but they are also necessary; he points out that these do not have to necessarily work against the ideals of African Socialism. What is important, he says, is to educate the professionals in their different associations that they are part and parcel of the nation. They should not alienate themselves from the common man but identify with him. He suggests that these professionals should learn to live with the realities of their countries and people; that doctors, engineers, lawyers and other graduates, should not only think in terms of Kampala, Nairobi, Dar es Salaam or similar places for work; they should be prepared to work in Kitui, Kashari or Sekenke just as happily as if they were in the big cities. The Tanzanian President, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere has set out towards this direction. To him, graduates must identify themselves with the people, their hardships, their poverty and their prosperity. This of course is the general theme throughout East Africa; but Mwalimu Nyerere has set the example of reducing his own salary, so the graduates have to accept salaries which are comparatively lower than those of their counterparts in the other countries.

Conceding that African socialism has not yet achieved all the goals that it aims at,and indeed it would be too unrealistic to expect it to have done so after this short period of its existence, Professor Mungai suggests that African socialism should develop concepts which integrate all the aspects mentioned above.

The point that cannot be over-emphasized and which any critic will recognise as being uniquely African in this twentieth century, is the attempt of all the African leaders to forge unified nations from conglomerations of different ethnic groups called tribes. A careful and sincere examination of African socialism reveals that the philosophy aims at cementing together all these ethnic groups and forming what can be called nation-states.

The leaders of East Africa in particular like all the leaders of Africa in general, have not spared any effort on this task. Such expressions as "Harambee" in Kenya, "Uhuru na Umoja" in Tanzania and "One people, one country and one parliament" in Uganda, are slogans of unity. Presidents Kenyatta of Kenya, Nyerere of Tanzania and Obote of Uganda do not make a single speech without stressing the urgent need for the people they lead to work, think and act as one people in a single community; that community being their country.

A

PART THREE

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A CURRENT BIBL.OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS, published monthly by Greenwood periodicals, 211 E. 43rd Str., New York, N.Y.10017.
AFRIQUE NOUVELLE, published weekly in Dakar (B.P. 283) Senegal.
AFRIQUE, published monthly at: 21, rue Barbet-de-Jony, Paris 7^{e}, France.
HORAYA, published tri-weekly in Conakry (B.P. 191), Guinea
JEUNE AFRIQUE, published weekly by Jeune Afrique Bureau, Room 491, U.N.Plaza, New York, N.Y.
L'ESSOR, a daily, published in Bamako (B.P. 1463), Mali.
PRESENCE AFRICAINE, a quarterly, published at 42, rue Descartes, Paris V^{e}, France.
SPEARHEAD, published monthly in Dar es Salaam (P.O.Box 807), Tanzania.
THE NATIONALIST, published daily by TANU in Dar es Salaam (P.O.Box 9221) Tanzania.
WEST AFRICA, published weekly in Orbit House, 9 New Fetter Lane, London E.C.4.

Note: In some of these periodicals, especially those published in French, titles may not directly indicate African socialism or socialism in Africa but the content may be about the topic. For example, "Guinea under Sékou Touré" has no indications of the word socialism in it; however, the article is about Guinean socialism as conducted by Sékou Touré. It would be advisable, therefore, for the reader to scan through the article(s) and determine the the content(s) rather than judging the content from the list of contents at the beginning of the periodical(s).

PART FOUR

BIOGRAPHIC NOTES

MADEIRA KEITA of Mali

Born in 1917 at Kita, W.Mali, Madeira Keita went to school at William Ponty School in Dakar, Guinea. A teacher by profession, he formed Guinea's ruling party, The Democratic Party of Guinea (PDG) and was its first Secretary General. He also was one of the founder members of R.D.A., French West Africa's parent political party. When he got tired of being victimized by the French colonial officials, he returned to his home country of Mali, then called Soudan.

MODIBO KEITA ex-president of Mali

Born on June 4, 1915, Modibo, from a Moslem family, was first educated in Koranic schools. He then got his primary education in Mali before he went to William Ponty school in Dakar where he graduated with honours. He became a teacher in 1936. After helping in the formation of the African Democratic Party (R.D.A.), he was jailed in Paris because the R.D.A. was linked with the French Communist Party and in 1950, he was branded as an unrepentant communist. He became president of Mali after the Mali-Guinea federation failed. He was overthrown in 1968. He is a holder of the Lenin Peace Prize.

JOMO KENYATTA President of Kenya

Mzee (or in English 'Grand Old Man') Kenyatta has been in politics longer than many African leaders have been living. Born in a poor Kikuyu farmer's family round about 1890, Jomo (the name means 'burning spear') has been a symbol of African nationalism for over forty years.

He was educated at the Church of Scotland Mission School, Kikuyu, Moscow University, Selly Oak College, London University. He obtained a B.A. and a post graduate diploma in anthropology. He holds honorary degrees of L.L.D.(E.A.), L.L.D.(Manchester), L.L.D.(Ethiopia) and an Hon. Fellow from the London School of Economics. He became General Secretary of the Kenya Central Association, 1922; founded the first African owned journal, 'Mwigwithania' in 1928. He was sent to U.K. by Kenya Africans to press for independence in 1929. He travelled extensively in Europe and briefly represented Ethiopia at the League of Nations during the war. While in England, he associated with the late Prof.B.Malinowski who was one of the driving forces when Mzee was writing his first book "Facing Mount Kenya", to which Malinowski wrote the introduction.

He was president of the first Pan-African Congress in Manchester, 1945 and represented East Africa on that conference when Nkrumah was joint secretary. He was a founder member of Kenya African Union (KAU) and its president, 1947-52 until he was detained, 1952-61. While still in restriction at Lodwar, Kenya, he was elected, in absentia, president of Kenya African National Union (KANU) in 1960. After his release, he was returned unopposed to the Legislative Council in 1962. He was elected Minister of State for Constitutional Affairs and Economic Planning, 1962-63. He was again returned unopposed from his home constituency of Thika-Gatundu in

1963. Prime Minister of Kenya during internal self government period and after independence (when he also held the portfolios of Internal Security and Defence); he is the first president of Kenya (since 1964). In March 1966, he was re-elected, unopposed, to the presidency of the ruling KANU. Among his publications are such works as Facing Mount Kenya (1939) and Suffering Without Bitterness (1968). He became the first chancellor of the University of Nairobi on July 1, 1970.

THOMAS (TOM) JOSEPH MBOYA of Kenya

He was born on August 15, 1930 at Kilima Mbogu in Kenya. He had his education at Holy Ghost College, Mangu; Royal Sanitary Institute's Medical Training School; Jean's School, Ruskin College, Oxford (as a British workers' Travel Association Scholar). He worked as a sanitary inspector, Nairobi City Council, 1951-52; Member of African Staff Association, 1951 (president 1952); Member of Kenya African Union (KAU), 1952; General Secretary, Kenya Federation of Labour, 1953-62; Member of Kenya Legislative Council and Parliament 1957-1969, Secretary General, KANU 1960-1969; Minister of Labour, 1962-63; Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, 1963-64; Minister of Economic Planning and Development from 1964 until his tragic assassination on July 5, 1969. He was chairman of the first All Africa Peoples Conference in Accra, 1958; I.C.F.T.U. East and Central African Committee, 1959-62; PAFMECA, 1959; U.N. Economic Commission for Africa, 1965-67. He was awarded an Hon. L.L.D. from Howard University, Washington, D.C. in 1959.

DR. KWAME NKRUMAH ex-president of Ghana

He was born in the then Gold Coast on September 21, 1909. He was educated at the Roman Catholic Elementary School, Half Assini, Government Teacher Training College, Accra and Achimota, Lincoln University where he obtained a B.A. degree and S.T.B.; University of Pennsylvania where he obtained a B.D., M.A.Phil., M.Sc.Ed.; London University. He worked as a schoolmaster, 1931-34. He was an instructor in History and Philosophy at the University of Pennsylvania in 19.. He was General Secretary of West African National Secretariat; joint Secretary, Pan-African Congress, London and Manchester; editor of New African, London, 1945-47. He was former member and first General Secretary of the United Gold Coast Convention (U.G.C.C.). He was arrested and detained, 1948; resigned from U.G.C.C. and demanded "Self Government Now" and formed the Convention Peoples Party (C.P.P.) in 1949. When his party staged positive action demonstrations, he was arrested for inciting illegal strikes in 1950. However, under a new constitution, he was released on being elected to the Legislative Assembly. He became leader of Government business in the assembly in 1951 and was Prime Minister of the Gold Coast 1952-57 and of Ghana 1957-60. He became head of the republic of Ghana 1960-66 when he was overthrown in a military coup. He is a Lenin Peace Prize holder.

JULIUS KAMBARAGE NYERERE President of Tanzania

Nyerere was born forty seven years ago in Butiama village of Tanganyika (the mainland of Tanzania). He was educated at Tabora Secondary School, Makerere University College and Edinburgh University. He has a Dip.Ed(E.A.) M.A.(Edinburgh) and an Hon.L.L.D.(Edinburgh). He is a teacher by profession (thus his popular title of Mwalimu, which means 'teacher'). He became president of the African Association, Dar es Salaam in 1953 and in 1954, he left teaching to form the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) and campaigned for the nationalist movement. In 1957, he became a member of the Tanganyika Legislative Assembly only to resign the same year. He was elected back to the assembly in 1958 and re-elected in 1960. He became chief Minister in 1960, Prime Minister of Tanganyika 1962-64 and President of the United Republic of Tanzania since 1964. He was the first chancellor of the University of East Africa a post he held from 1963 until the university's dissolution on June 30th, 1970. He became the first chancellor of the University of Dar es Salaam the following day.

MILTON APOLO OBOTE President of Uganda

The third of nine children of a chief in Lango, north Uganda, Milton Obote was born in 1924. He was educated in Uganda. He left Makerere after two years because he wanted to study law. However, his scholarship to study law in U.S.A. was turned down by the British colonial authorities. A similar attempt to get into a Sudanese university was frusted by the same people. He worked in various positions as a labourer, clerk and salesman in Kenya between 1950 and 1955.

While in Kenya, he associated himself with Jomo Kenyatta and was founder member of Kenya African Union (KAU). On a visit home in 1952, he joined the Uganda National Congress. He returned to Lango in 1955 and in 1957 the Lango District Council elected him their representative in the Legislative Council. In 1960, he formed the Uganda People's Congress. In 1961-62 he was leader of opposition in parliament and after the general elections of 1962, he became prime minister, a post he held until 1966 when he became president with the introduction of a republican constitution. He holds an honorary L.L.D. from the University of Long Island (USA), and another one from the University of New Delhi (India). He became the first chancellor of the University of Makerere at its inception on July 1st, 1970.

LEOPOLD SEDAR SENGHOR President of Senegal

The man who is closest to being a philosopher king is Léopold Sédar Sénghor of Senegal. Born on October 9th, 1906, he had his education mainly in France. He is a member of Agrégés de Grammaire, the highest French Academic qualification and an honour reserved for only the deserving few, the academic giants in the French world. He studied at the Sorbonne University in Paris and spent most of his time in France either as a student, teacher or politician. In the period 1935-1944, he taught in France, and during the period 1945-1958, he was a member of two constituent assemblies. He came to associate with many French socialists. While in France, he kept in touch with the political developments in Senegal and became her president when she attained independence in 1960.

SEKOU TOURE President of Guinea

Sékou Touré was born in a peasant family on January 9th, 1922. He reputes himself with having decended from an ancestor who fought the French to the bitter end. He was brought up, and still is a devout Muslim but his political thoughts are influenced by Marx. A unionist at heart, he made early connections with Confédération Générale du Travail (C.G.T.), the communist dominated French Labour Union. He soon became General Secretary of C.G.T's co-ordinating committee in West Africa in 1950. He broke away from the French Communist Party and helped to form the General Union of Workers of Black Africa (UGTAN) and he became its secretary general. In 1952, he took over the secretary generalship of the P.D.G. He is the man who said "non" to de Gaulle in 1959 when the rest of the French-speaking West Africans decided to stay in the French community.

NOTE:

Most of the biographic information was obtained from: REUTERS GUIDE

1967 The new Africans: Reuters guide to the contemporary history of emergent Africa and its leaders. Pp.504. London: Paul Hamlyn.

PART FIVE

SERIAL LIST

Africa (London)
Africa (Rome)
Afr.Act. - African Action (Tunisia)
Afr.Aff. - African Affairs (London)
Afr.Business Monthly - African Business Monthly (Beirut)
Afr.Communist - African Communist (London)
Afr.et Asie - Afrique et Asie (Paris)
Afr.Forum - African Forum (New York)
Afr.Kenkyu - Africa Kenkyu (Japan)
Afr.Newsletter - Africana Newsletter (Stanford, Cali.)
Afr.Nouv. - Afrique Nouvelle (Dakar)
Afr.Pol.Rev. - African Political Review (Nairobi)
Afr.Quart. - African Quarterly (Delhi)
Afr.Report - Africa Report (Washington, D.C.)
Afr.Scholar - African Scholar (Washington, D.C.)
Afr.South - Africa South (Cape Town)
Afr.Stud.Bull. - African Studies Bulletin (New York)
Afr.Today - Africa Today (New York)
Africana Bull. - Africana Bulletin (Warsaw)
Afrika (The Hague)
Afrique (Paris)
Amer.Anthrop. - American Anthropologist (Washington, D.C.)
Amer.Polit.Sci.Rev. - American Political Science Review (Washington, D.C.)
Annales Afr. - Annales Africaines (Dakar)
Annals Amer.Acad.Polit.Soc.Sci. - Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (Philadelphia, Pa.)
Arch.Rechts-u.Soziaphilos - Archiv für Rechts-und Sozialphilosophie (Berlin)
Atlantic (New York)
Az.Afr.Seg. - Aziya i Afrika Segodnya (Moscow)
Bol.Soc.Geog. - Boletin da Sociedade de geografia (Lisbon)
Boston Univ.Grad.J. - Boston University Graduate Journal (Boston, Mass.)
Bull.Ass.Gui.Budé - Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé (Paris)
Bull.Econ. - Bulletin Economiques (Algiers)
Bull.Séances Acad.roy.sci.O.-M. - Bulletin des Séances de l'Académie Royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer (Burssels)
Cah.Internat.Sociol. - Cahiers internationaux de Sociologie (Paris)
Canadian J.Afr.Stud. - Canadian Journal of African Studies (Montreal)
Cath.World - Catholic World (Glen Rock, N.J.)
Civilisations (Brussels)
Civitas (Rome)
Columbia J.Transitional Law - Columbia Journal of Transitional Law (New York)
Commentary (New York)
Commonw.J. - Commonwealth Journal (London)
Conference Papers, MISR. - Conference Papers of Makerere Institute of Social Research (Kampala)
Continenti (Rome)
Continuous Learning (Toronto)
CRISP (Brussels)
Criterio (Buenos Aires)
Cult.Dév. - Cultures et Développement (Louvain, Kinshasa)

Current Bibl.Afr.Aff. - Current Bibliography of African Affairs (New York)
Current Hist. - Current History (Philadelphia, Pa.)
Daily Nation (nairobi)
Dissent (New York)
Doc.pour l'Action - Documents pour l'Action (Dakar)
Dokumente (Cologne)
Drum (Dar es Salaam, Lagos, Nairobi)
E.Afr.J. - East African Journal (Nairobi)
E.Afr.Law.J. - East African Law Journal (Nairobi)
Econ.et Polit. - Economie et Politique (Paris)
Ekon.Sov.Ukrainy - Ekonomika Sovetskoi Ukrainy (Moscow)
Encounter (London)
Espritu (Barcelona, Spain)
Etudes Congolaises (Kinshasa)
Foreign Aff. - Foreign Affairs (London, Moscow, New York)
Freedomways (New York)
Genève-Afr. - Genève-Afrique (Geneva)
Gesch.in Wiss-u.Unterricht - Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht (Stuttgart)
Ghana Today (Accra)
Govt.and Opp. - Government and Opposition (London)
Hogaku Kenkyu (Japan)
Homme et Soc. - Homme et Société (Paris)
Ibadan (Nigeria)
India quart. - India Quarterly (New Delhi)
Indo-Afr.Trade J. - Indo-African Trade Journal (New Delhi)
Inf.Bull.World Marxist Rev. - Information Bulletin of World Marxist Review (Toronto)
Internat.Aff. - International Affairs (London)
Internat.Conciliation - International Conciliation (U.N., New York)
Internat.J. - International Journal (Toronto)
Internat.Problems - International Problems (Belgrade, Tel-Aviv)
J.Commonw.Polit.Stud. - Journal of Commonwealth Studies (London)
Jeune Afr. - Jeune Afrique (Tunis)
J.Human Rel. - Journal of Human Relations (Wilberforce, Ohio)
J.Internat.Aff. - Journal of International Affairs (New York)
Jiyū (Japan)
J.Law, Polit.& Sociol. - Journal of Law, Politics and Sociology (?)
J.Mod.Afr.Stud. - Journal of Modern African Studies (Cambridge, U.K.)
J.Negro Hist. - Journal of Negro History (Washington, D.C.)
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Kommunist (Vil'nius, USSR)
Kroniek Van Afr. - Kroniek van Afrika (Leiden)
l'Afrique Noire (Dakar)
Labour (Ghana TUC) (Accra)
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Marchés tropicaux (Paris)
Mawazo (Makerere, Kampala)
Mezh.zhizu - Mezhdunarodnaia zhizu (Moscow)
Middle East J. - Middle East Journal (Washington, D.C.)
MINERVA (London)
Minshu-Shakaishugi Kenkyu (Japan)
Mirovaia - Mirovaia ekonomika i mezhdunaroduye otnosheniia (Moscow)
MIZAN (London)

Mois Afr. - Le Mois en Afrique (Dakar)
Monde Diplomatique (Paris)
Nada (Salisbury)
Narody Azii i Afr. - Narody Azii i Afriki (Moscow)
Negro Digest - Negro (Press) Digest (New York, Chicago)
Neues Afr. - Neues Afrika (Minich)
New Republic (Washington, D.C.)
Nigerian J.Econ.Soc.Stud. - Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies (Ibadan)
Nouv.Rev.Internat. - Nouvelle Revue Internationale (Paris)
Optima (Johannesburg)
Orbis (Philadelphia, Pa.)
Overseas Quart. - Overseas Quarterly (London)
Pan Afr. - Pan Africa (Nairobi)
Pan-Afr.J. - Pan-African Journal (New York)
Parl.Aff. - Parliamentary Affairs (London)
Past and Present (Oxford, U.K.)
Penant (Paris)
Polit.Quart. - Political Quarterly (London)
Polit.Sci. - Political Science (Wellington, N.Z.)
Polit.Stud. - Political Studies (London)
Présence Afr. - Présence Africaine (Paris)
Problèmes Economiques - Problèmes Economiques (d'Aujourd'hui) (Paris)
Problems of Communism (Washington, D.C.)
Projekt (Warsaw)
Pylon (Phylon) (Atlanta, Ga.)
Quart.J.Econ. - Quarterly Journal of Economics (Cambridge, Mass)
Recherches Afr. - Recherches africaines (Conakry)
Relazioni Internaz. - Relazioni Internazionali (Rome)
Reporter - Reporter: East Africa's Fortnightly Magazine (Nairobi, ceased publication)
Research Reports (Dar es Salaam)
Rev.de l'Action populaire - Revue de l'Action populaire (Dakar)
Rev.Est.Polit. - Revue Estudios Politicos (?)
Rev.franç.Sci.polit. - Revue française de science politique (Paris)
Rev.Gabinete Est.ultramarinas - Revue Gabinete Estudios ultramarinos (Lisbon)
Rev.Inst.Sociol. - Revue de l'Institut de Sociologie (Brussels)
Rev.Internat.Aff. - Review of International Affairs (Belgrade)
Rev.Polit. - Review of Politics (Notre Dame, Ind.)
Rev.Polit.Internat. - Revue de Politique Internationale (Yugoslavia)
Round Table (Chicago and London)
St.Joseph's Mag. - St.Joseph's Magazine (St.Benedict, Oregon)
Saeculum (Munich)
Sat.Evening Post - Saturday Evening Post (Washington, D.C.)
Soc.Res. - Social Research (New York)
Socialist Commentry (London)
Socialist Internat.Inf. - Socialist International Information (London)
Socialist Register (London)
Sovietskaya Ethnographia (Moscow)
Spearhead (Dar es Salaam)
Spectator (London)
Statesman (London)
Statist (London)
Studia Socjologiczne-Polit. - Studia Socjologiczne-Polityczne (Warsaw)

Survey - Journal of Soviet and East European Studies (London)
The New Afr. - The New Africans (London)
The Parliamentarian (London)
The Party (Accra)
The People (Kampala)
The Spark (Accra)
Transition (Kampala, ceased publication)
Univ.Arizona Bull. - University of Arizona Bulletin (Tucson)
Venture (London)
Vierteljahresberichte (Hannover)
Viv.Afr. - Vivante Africaine (Paris)
Voice Afr. - Voice of Africa (Washington, D.C.)
Voprosy filosofii (Moscow)
West Afr. - West Africa (London)
Western World (Brussels)
World Marxist Rev. - World Marxist Review (London)
World Polit. - World Politics (Princeton, N.J.)
World Today (London)
Yale Law J. - Yale Law Journal (New Haven, Conn.)
Za Rub. - Za Rubezhom (Moscow)

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Kenya: (Unless otherwise indicated, the addresses are in Nairobi).
British Council, Box 751
EAPH, Box 30571 (E.Afr.J.)
East African Community, East African Literature Bureau, Box 30022
Government Printing and Stationery Dept., Box 30128
Kenya National Library Services, Box 30573
Kenyatta College, Box 3844
McMillan Library, Box 791
Ministry of Information, Box 30025
OUP, Box 12532
UNDP, Box 30218
UNESCO, Box 30592
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USAID, Box 30137
U.S.Library of Congress Office, Box 30598

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Dar es Salaam Bookshop, Box 9030
East African Academy (Branch), Box 35091
East African Community (Social and Research Services), Box 1002, Arusha.
East African Literature Bureau, Box 1408
Government Printer, Box 9124
Ministry of Education, Box 9121
Ministry of Information and Tourism, Box 1422
National Archives of Tanzania, Box 2006
Tanganyika Library Services, Box 9283
Tanzania Society, Box 511 (Tanzania Notes and Records)
UNESCO, Box 9182
Univ.of Dar es Salaam, Box 9184 (Depts.: Pol.Sci., Econ., Law, etc.)
USAID, Box 9123

Uganda: (Unless otherwise specified, the addresses are in Kampala).
British Council, Box 914
East African Academy (Branch), Box 1383
East African Literature Bureau, Box 1317
Government Printer, Box 33, Entebbe
Ministry of Information Broadcasting and Tourism, Box 7142
MISR, Box 16022
Uganda Society, Box 4980 (Uganda J.)
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Univ.Library, Box 16002
Univ.of Makerere, Box 7062 (Depts.: Pol.Sci., Afr.Stud., etc.)
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Univ.Officielle de Bujumbura, B.P. 1320

Congo, Democratic Republic of, Kinshasa:
Lovanium Univ., Inst.de Recherches Economiques et Sociales (IRES)

Ethiopia, Addis Ababa:
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Haile Sellassie I Univ., Box 1176 (Inst.of Ethiopian Stud., Depts.: Pol.Sci., Economics, etc.)
UNECA, Library, Box 3001

Ghana, Accra:
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Ivory Coast, Abidjan:
African-American Inst., B.P. 20894

Lesotho and Swaziland, Lesotho:
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Madagascar (Malagascy), Tananarive:
Bibliotheque Univ.de Madagascar, B.P. 908

Malawi, Limbe:
Univ.of Malawi, Soche Hill Coll., Box 496

Morocco, Tangier:
Centre Africain de Formation et Recherche Administrative pour le Developpement (CAFRAD), B.P.310

Niger, Niamey:
Centre Nigérian de Recherches en Sciences Humaines, B.P. 318

Nigeria,
Ahmadu Bello Univ., P.M.B. 1044, Zaria.
Univ.of Ibadan, Private Mail Bag 5, Ibadan (Nigerian Inst.of Social and Economic Research; Inst.of Afr.Stud., etc.)
Univ.of Lagos, Lagos (School of Social Stud.)

Rwanda, Butare:
Univ.Nationale du Rwanda, B.P.117 (Depts.: Pol.Sci.and Social Sci.)

Senegal, Dakar:
Inst.Fondamental d'Afrique Noire (IFAN), B.P.206.

Sierra Leone, Freetown:
Fourah Bay Coll., (Library, Depts.: Pol.Sci., Afr.Stud., etc) Box 87

Sudan, Khartoum:
Univ.of Khartoum, Faculty of Econ.and Soc.Stud., Box 321

AFRICA: (Outside East Africa) continued

Tunisia, Tunis:
Ceres, 23 rue d'Espagne
Univ.de Tunis, Dept.de Sci.Polit.et Sci.Sociale

Zambia, Lusaka:
National Archives of Zambia, Box RW 10, Ridgeway
Univ.of Zambia, Box 900 (Inst.of Social Research; Depts.: Pol.Sci., Afr. Stud., etc.)

AMERICA:

Argentina, Buenos Aires:
Centro de Estudios Africanos, Lavalle 1474, 3^{o}
Inst.Torcuato Di Tella, Centro de Investigaciones Sociales, Virrey del Pino 3230.

Canada:
Committee on Afr.Stud.in Canada, c/o Dept.of Pol.Econ., Univ.of Toronto, 100 St.George Str., Toronto 5, Ontario.
Univ.of Br.Columbia (Depts.: Pol.Sci., Afr.Stud.), Vancouver.

Peru, Trujillo:
Univ.Nacional de Trujillo, Apartado 315.

USA:

California:
Stanford Univ., Stanford, Cali. 94305 (Hoover Inst., Depts.: Pol.Sci., Afr.Stud.).
Univ.of California, Berkely, Cali. 94720 (Depts.: Pol.Sci., Afr.Stud.)
Illinois:
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Conference of Directors of Economic and Social Research Institutes in Africa (CODESRIA) c/o Internat.Devt.Stud.Center, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts Univ., Medford, Mass. 02155
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Western Michigan Univ.(WMU), Kalamazoo, Mich. 49001 (Dept.of Internat. and Area Stud.; Dept.of Pol.Sci.).

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Afr.Stud.Assoc., Research Liason Committee, 622, W.113rd Str., New York, N.Y.10025
Amer.Society for Afr.Culture, 15 E.40th Str., New York, N.Y. 10016.
Columbia Univ., New York, N.Y. 10027 (Dept.of Pol.Sci., Afr.Stud.Program)
New York Public Library, 103 W.135th Str., New York, N.Y. 10030
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Washington, D.C.:
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CARA-Afr.Dept., 1717 Mass.Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.
Library of Congress, Reference Dept., Afr.Section, Washington 25, D.C.20540
National Academy of Sciences, Afr.Aff., 2101 Constitution Ave., Washington, D.C.
The American Univ., School of Internat.Service, Afr.Area Stud.Program, Washington, D.C. 20016
USAID, Washington, D.C. 20523
U.S.Dept.of State, Afr.Section, Washington,D.C. 20520 (Office of External Research).

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Israel:
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Univ.of Tel-Aviv, Dept.of Middle East and African Studies, Tel-Aviv.

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Afr.Research Assoc., Kyoto Univ., Kyoto
Afr.Society of Japan, Han-Ei Kotohira-Cho Building No.30, Shiba Kotohira--Cho, Minato-Ku, Tokyo
Japanese Assoc.of Africanists, c/o The Room of Geog.Dept.of Physical Science, Tokyo Univ., 1-3-7 Hongo, Bunkyo-Ku, Tokyo
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EUROPE:

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Afro-Asiatisches Institut, Dokumentationszentrum, Tükenstr., 3, Wien IX

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Belgium: (continued)

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Inst.of Commonw.Stud., Oxford.
Inst.of Race Relations, 36 Jermyn Str., London, S.W.1.
Manchester Univ., Development Documentation Centre, Manchester 13.
ODI, 160 Piccadilly, London, W.1.
Roy.Afr.Society, c/o Roy.Commonw.Society, 18 Northumberland Ave., London W.C.2.
Scientific Council on Africa south of the Sahara (CCTA/CCA), Wayergate House, York Buildings, London, W.C.2.
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Univ.of London, London W.C.1. (SOAS, Afr.Dept.; SCOLMA, etc.).
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CARDAN, 293 Ave., Daumennil, XII^{e} Paris
CEDAOM, 29-31 Quai Voltaire, VII^{e} Paris
Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, 20 Rue de la Baume, VIII^{e} Paris. (Centre d'Etudes Africaines; Conseil Internat.des Sciences Sociales,etc.).
Internat.Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Stud., Maison de l'Unesco, 6, Rue Franklin, XVI^{e} Paris.
La Documentation Africaine (EDIAFRIC), 57 Ave. Iena, XVI^{e} Paris
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Société des Africanistes, Place du Tracadéro 75, XVI^{e} Paris

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Karl-Marx-Universität, Afrika Inst., Leipzig W.31, Karl-Heine-Str. 22b

German Federal Republic (West):

Deusche Stiftung für Entwicklungsländer (German Foundation for Developing Countries), Dokumentation, 53 Bonn, Blücherstr.16.
Politische Dokumentation, 1 Berlin 45, Paulinenstr.22, W.Berlin

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Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Centre for Afro-Asian Research, Budapest XII, Kálló Esperes u.15.

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Italian Centre for Cultural Relations with Swahili Area, Casella Postale 2437, Roma.
Inst.Supiriore di Scienze Sociali, via Verdi 26, Trento
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Inst.de Estudios Africanos (IDEA), Paseo de la Castellana, 5, Madrid 1.

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Scandinavian Inst.of African Studies, P.O.Box 345, Uppsala 1.

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